

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT WASHINGTON STAR EDITORIAL, TUESDAY, APRIL 27, HEADED "KISSINGER AFRICANUS."
2. SECRETARY KISSINGER IS TOURING A POLITICAL MINEFIELD IN HIS SEVEN-STOP AFRICAN JOURNEY -- A MINEFIELD SO TREACHEROUS THAT ONE MAY WELL WONDER WHETHER THE TRIP IS NECESSARY.
3. OF COURSE, DR. KISSINGER'S DESCENT UPON THE WORLD'S THEATERS OF CONFLICT HAS COME TO BE READ ROUTINELY AS A SIGN THAT DIPLOMATIC MIRACLES ARE PENDING. BUT HIS MODEST DESCRIPTION OF THE AFRICAN TRIP -- "I HAVE COME HERE," HE SAID IN NAIROBI, "TO HELP PRESIDENT FORD DEVISE A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA AND TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THIS GREAT CONTINENT" -- IS APPROPRIATELY DISARMING. THERE WILL BE NO MIRACLES, NOT EVEN FOR DR. KISSINGER, IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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4. YET THE PURPOSES OF THE AFRICAN CIRCUIT ARE PROBABLY MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN DR. KISSINGER ADMITS. FOR SOME TWO DECADES -- AND CERTAINLY SINCE PRIME MINISTER HAROLD

MACMILLAN PROCLAIMED BRITAIN'S RESIGNATION FROM AFRICAN COLONIALISM WITH HIS "WINDS OF CHANGE" SPEECH -- THERE HAS BEEN ONLY ONE GLOBAL ISSUE ON THE CONTINENT: MAJORITY RULE. AND IT IS ONE OF THE BURDENS OF WHAT MR. MACMILLAN HIMSELF HAS CALLED "THE PRICE OF ADMIRALTY" THAT THE U.S. WHILE LACKING HISTORIC TIES OR SPECIAL EXPERTISE IN AFRICA, IS DRAWN WILLY-NILLY INTO THE ACRIMONIOUS POLITICS OF AFRICAN TRANSITION.

5. THE AMERICAN APPETITE FOR SUCH A ROLE IS, TO BE SURE, UNDER FIRM CONTROL. THE INITIAL ENTHUSIASM OVER INDEPENDENCE IN AFRICA, EVEN AMONG WESTERN LIBERALS, HAS SLACKENED AS NEW TYRANNIES SPRANG UP ONE AFTER THE OTHER TO SUPPLANT THE OLD COLONIALISM. AND TO THIS MORE SOMBER PICTURE HAS BEEN ADDED, RECENTLY, THE FEAR THAT THE LAPSE OF WESTERN SUPPORT FOR GRADUALISM IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH WEST AFRICA MIGHT LEAVE A VACUUM FOR OUTSIDE MEDDLING AS IN ANGOLA. THE CASTAWAY SLOGANS OF ANOTHER ERA -- "AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS" AND ALL THAT -- HAVE LOST THEIR LUSTER.

6. YET IF SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA ADMINISTERED ONE SHOCK TO WESTERN ILLUSIONS IN AFRICA, THE RUSH OF EVENTS HAS ADMINISTERED ANOTHER. AFRICAN POLITICAL FUSES ARE SHORT, SHORTER THAN ANYONE HAD IMAGINED. IT IS CLEAR NOW, FOR INSTANCE, THAT NOT EVEN SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH REMAINS A SPECIAL CASE, FULL OF IMPONDERABLES FOR AMERICAN POLICY, IS PREPARED TO RISK VERY MUCH FOR THE SURVIVAL OF A COMPANION WHITE-MINORITY GOVERNMENT IN RHODESIA. SOUTH AFRICA'S ATTEMPT AT DETENTE WITH NEIGHBORING BLACK NATIONALIST GOVERNMENTS SIMPLY INCREASES THE URGENCY FOR A RE-EVALUATION OF A U.S. POLICY MOST ACCURATELY DESCRIBED AS "WAIT AND SEE."

7. THE IAN SMITH REGIME IN RHODESIA PLAINLY FACES A CHOICE BETWEEN AN ACCOMMODATION WITH MODERATE BLACK NATIONALISM AND AN ATTEMPT TO SURVIVE AT THE PRICE OF A MONSTROUS UNCLASSIFIED

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RACIAL WAR. TO SAY THIS IS NOT TO PASS GLIB AND EASY JUDGMENT ON THE MERITS OF RHODESIA'S PRESENT SYSTEM OF POWER-SHARING, WHICH ARE MIXED; NOR IS IT TO IGNORE THAT MUCH OF THE TENSION IN THAT COUNTRY SEEMS TO BE GENERATED FROM OUTSIDE. IT IS ONLY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE POWER AND NUMBERS OF THOSE WHO WILL NOT ACCEPT MINORITY RULE THERE.

8. UNTIL THE LATE FURORE OVER ANGOLA, THE U.S. INsofar AS

IT HAD AN IDENTIFIABLE POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, DEPENDED
ON AFRICAN FEAR OF SOVIET MEDDLING TO GIVE SECOND THOUGHTS

TO IMPATIENT NATIONALISTS. BUT THAT POLICY IS IN UNACKNOWLEDGED BANKRUPTCY. IT IS NOT OF SUFFICIENT WEIGHT FOR AFRICAN NATIONALISTS, AS THEY CONSIDER THEIR GOALS, TO SWERVE THEM FROM THEIR TIMETABLE FOR POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN RHODESIA; AND IT SEEMED TO ALIGN THE U.S. WITH SOUTH AFRICA. WALTER LIPPMANN FORESAW THE DEBACLE 15 YEARS AGO: "WE CANNOT," HE WROTE, "COMPETE WITH COMMUNISM IN ... AFRICA ... IF WE GO ON DOING WHAT WE HAVE DONE SO OFTEN AND SO WIDELY -- WHICH IS TO PLACE THE WEAK COUNTRIES IN A DILEMMA WHERE THEY MUST STAND STILL WITH US AND OUR CLIENT RULERS, OR START MOVING WITH THE COMMUNISTS ... FOR THE ONLY REAL ALTERNATIVE TO COMMUNISM IS A LIBERAL AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY."

9. THUS DR. KISSINGER'S AFRICAN TRIP, GIVEN ITS TIMING AND CONTEXT, CAN ONLY TELEGRAPH TO THE WORLD AND THE AFRICANS THAT THE U.S. IS POISED TO THRUST HER INFLUENCE BEHIND THE NATIONALISTS' ACCELERATED SCHEDULE OF POLITICAL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WITH A PRAYER THAT THE CHANGE WILL BE PEACEFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE. THAT IT WILL BE SO, THAT A MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IN SALISBURY WOULD PROVIDE SECURITY TO THE MINORITY DISPLACED FROM POWER, IS AT BEST A MATTER OF SPECULATION. IT IS A GAMBLE; ONE MUST HOPE THERE ARE NO RHODESIAN AMINS LURKING IN THE WINGS. BUT IT IS A GAMBLE THE U.S. HAS NO CHOICE EXCEPT TO MAKE, HOWEVER UNENTHUSIASTICALLY. AND WE SUPPOSE DR. KISSINGER IS IN HIS WINDUP THIS WEEK.

10. EVEN WITH INCLINATIONS TO FORM A NEW POLICY, HOWEVER, DR. KISSINGER MUST BE EMBARRASSED BY HIS NARROW CHOICES.
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RHODESIA IS RINGED ABOUT BY THE THREAT OF GUERRILLA WAR -- INSURGENT ACTIVITIES KNOWN TO BE ENCOURAGED AND SUPPLIED BY THE SOVIET UNION. IT WOULD BE FOLLY TO SEEM TO ENCOURAGE THEM. IT WOULD LIKEWISE BE FOLLY TO VISIT THE HOTBEDS OF BLACK NATIONALISM IN THAT REGION CARRYING APOLOGIES FOR MINORITY RULE.

11. HEMMED AS HE IS BY THESE TWO LIMITING REALITIES, DR. KISSINGER CANNOT ESCAPE MOMENTS DURING HIS TOUR WHEN HE MUST WISH THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE COULD STAY AT HOME AND PLAY THE BYSTANDER'S ROLE. END TEXT. SISCO

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